3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

supplanted by immigrants from the wagon trains and ships. Some of the newcomers were from areas in which echoes of the frontier still lingered.

From the first, the settlers were active rivals of the Indians for lands and resources. They brought wives who were often repelled by the Indian way of life, and who established for themselves an insular world in which the Indian could find little place. Where they did not directly displace the natives, their swine uprooted camas and cous and their sheep browsed on berries. After an area had been inhabited by settlers for a time, it could no longer support the Indians, save as degraded and drunken remnants. The newcomers, as a whole, found little to respect in Indian culture; and many Indians who tried to follow the missionary's road found that it did not lead to the easy acquisition of the material wealth and status of the Americans. To the disillusioned apostates, finally, can be added those enraged by the lawless deeds of small bands of renegades, both Indian and white.

These events and others of local character lay behind the Cayuse slayings at the Whitman mission in 1847. In that same year, Crooked Finger, the leader of the closely related Northern Molala, visited the Umpqua, Rogue River, Pit River, Modoc, and Klamath, seeking recruits for an uprising timed to take advantage of the absence of local settlers in the military campaign against the Cayuse. Even as preparations were under way, emissaries from the Cayuse are said to have visited his camp in Molala country; but the settlers, forewarned, struck first. In the ensuing fighting, approximately eighty Klamath were involved, comprising over half of Crooked Finger's supporters, and a Klamath chief, Red Blanket, was slain. The triumphant whites gave the survivors three days to leave, and they departed along the Klamath Trail, bearing their dead with them.[15]

During these troubled times, the experience of the Klamath beyond their homeland was consistent: the white man was too powerful to be withstood. Comparable power, said some, must be sought in the white man's way. Link-River Jo, a Klamath subchief, recalled in later years his contact in the 1840's with missionaries at The Dalles who

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> told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . .[16]

Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for some time with whites and became convinced that the best policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt, to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who, starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party" among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one from the Modoc. From the Columbia he or a contemporary brought back new "laws," which included the institution of flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling. In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to pre-reservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue

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In the struggle to maintain personnel, Agents drew not only on family relationships and appeals to congressmen. Dyar and Nickerson were not beyond a "mistake" in interpreting regulations, if it was in good cause.[12] Similarly, when it became necessary to rid the administration of a troublemaker, a spate of damaging reports moved upward through channels.[13]

Another source of friction was that between church morality and Agency administration. At one point this caused Agent E. L. Applegate to cry—with a measure of histrionic license to be sure—"Have the United Church in this State established the Inquisition over the Indian Service? Should it not interest Congress to know if our branch of the public service is to be rushed back in its methods to the 15th century?"[14]

The charges against David Matthews were brought through the annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to which the reservation had been entrusted under the Grant administration.[15] The same body was responsible for charges against Agent Marshall Petet that he had permitted the Indians to dance and hold horse races during Fourth of July celebrations.[16] Similarly, O. C. Applegate had to protest charges made by the then missionary; and Horace G. Wilson had to request the removal of two missionary families who had criticized him. The matter was further complicated for Wilson by the circumstance that the wife of one missionary, and the loudest voice against him, was his own field matron.[17]

This was the Agent's Scylla; his Charybdis were the settlers who gradually percolated into the surrounding region. From the time that Dyar inveighed against "a low class of white men living near the reservation who have been giving and selling liquor to the Indians,"[18] the isolation of the reservation was never more than relative. The recurrent need of the Indians to repair to the Lost River fishery each spring, their sales at Fort Klamath in the 1860's, and later their hand labor and freighting for adjacent settlers took them increasingly away from the Agency, though always under a pass system. Local discrimination against "squaw men" and the stringent regulations governing Agency residents were in part responsible for the decision of those marrying Indian wives to live away from the reservation. Nonetheless,

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first encountered Christianity at the school. There were studies, though the most lasting impressions were made in references to Indian wars in the histories.[21] Above all there was the heavy labor, for the development of the industrial program coincided with the period when able-bodied men were leaving the reservation on passes to work for whites; and the support not only of the schools but in some measure of other Agency programs devolved upon the scholars. As E. L. Applegate admitted, "the truth is, the labor is very heavy upon those old enough or intelligent enough to render any assistance; the people [in the school] constitute a large family."[22] Work on the school farm required the pupils to return in two-week shifts over the summer. A contest for control over this work force developed between Applegate and the Superintendent of the Agency school, who presumed to take his orders directly from the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington.[23]

There was competition from off-reservation schools over the older students. In 1881, Nickerson, perhaps prodded from above, had attempted to send twelve superior students to the Indian school at Forest Grove—later removed to Chemawa, Oregon—but funds were not available to send them the 450 miles distant.[24] In a letter from Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens, the role of those schools and their competition with Agency schools are clearly acknowledged. Declared Stevens:

> It is not the policy of this office to remove pupils from reservation to distant boarding schools without the consent of their parents.
>
> It is always the case that the removal from agency schools of the older and more intelligent pupils is, temporarily at least, a detriment to the schools; but it is believed that the superior advantages which can be had away from the Indian country, and the reflex influence on the families who thus commit themselves to civilization, more than compensate to the tribe for the loss occasioned to the schools.[25]

In 1885, accordingly, nineteen students were sent away to school, and by spring, five had died. Eventually eight were dead, and Emery wrote, "This great mortality has caused much dissatisfaction among my Indians; and any effort to remove any more children to this School will meet with serious opposition on

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Religion

THE FINAL FIELD OF PLANNED CHANGE TO BE COSIDERED IS THAT OF religion. The traditional American separation of church and state did not obtain in the early history of the reservation, which, during the Grant administration, was entrusted to the Methodist Church. Several Agents, beginning with Dyar, and more than one employee, were ordained ministers. Although for some years the church did not send a missionary upon the reservation, religious services were held and the Word preached. The Annual Conference of the Methodist Church on several occasions served as a sounding board for intrigues on the part of white employees against the Agent.

Nor was religion divorced from political control on the native side. It will be recalled that shamans had been dominant figures before the rise of the centralizing chiefs, and that subsequently their power often buttressed that of individual chiefs. The continued presence of that influence now challenged the rule of the Agent. Lindsay Applegate later, in his roughhewn spelling, characterized the "Indian doctor" as "the dangers imposter who was the grate Bareer aganst their siviliseation . . ." adding "I made him giv Back the property that he had taken from his people By his false pretences [.] when he got two Bissy I put him in the guard hose[.]"[1] Captain Knapp brought similar pressure to bear in an effort to remove interference with proposed medical innovations. John Meacham, who succeeded him, commented upon the futility of his drastic measures:

> This was well and the Captain deserves credit for it, but it had about as much effect in eradicating these superstitious notions from the minds of the Indians as would the execution of the Pope of Rome and the proscription of every priest in Christendom in abolishing from the earth the papal theory of religion.

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shamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming, and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices into their rituals.[16]

While these nativistic movements were going on, the first steps were being taken to provide Christian training to replace the native faith which was being discredited. In 1872, Thomas Pearne, an educated Indian from the Yakima reservation, had been appointed interpreter. During that year, until his resignation to return to Washington Territory in the following spring, he carried on missionary work among the Klamath, bringing thirty-six into the church. Among them was Lileks, who at his death three years later was numbered among the "Praying Indians."[17]

The following year, the Reverend James Harer was appointed Commissary at Yainax, where for a brief period he preached at religious meetings which were well attended.[18] By 1876, the Agent at the Lower End and the farmer at Yainax still were holding forth. Employees had volunteered to advance half the salary for a missionary if the Methodist Missionary Society would match the amount; but nothing came of it.[19] Roork, the following year, took a number of the principal men and women, along with some scholars from the Indian School, to the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem, probably in another appeal for a missionary.[20]

The flavor of those early meetings is preserved in one of the letters to Dave Hill, dictated in 1875 by Allen David.

> After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook [make, hold] church, we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanish [take good care of] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.—Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds., some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chikaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts and then tried to get the other Inds. to get the same hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr. Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs

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> & Mr. Dyar, "here, you mammook law on me." Their hearts were all right while I was wrong and deserved what I got. Now I throw away all that old bad heart."[21]

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In 1880 a church building capable of seating two hundred persons was framed with lumber brought in by the Indians, but two years passed before it was completed.[22] Meanwhile, the work with the congregation had gone on apace.

As Roork mentioned, since it was thought best in preaching to ignore Chinook jargon, "an interpreter is employed who expounds in Klamath the instructions designed especially for their enlightenment." After Sunday school, in the afternoon another service was held, "introduced by a brief sermon, followed by remarks by one or more of the most intelligent Christian Indians, who address their own people in Klamath."[23] The leaders in this practice were Henry Blow and Dave Hill. Both the exhortative character of the sermon and the circumstance that the Agent often led the services provided links with the corresponding admonitions of the chiefs of former days. Dave Hill, at this time employed as official interpreter,[24] doubtless served in this capacity for religious services.

When the church building had been completed the services were conducted in part by the Agent and employees, in part by Hill, now a preacher of the Methodist Church.[25] Both he and Henry Blow frequently visited the school, lecturing on the virtues of Christian living.[26] Three years later, young Jesse Kirk, also ordained, was participating in services. A camp meeting of that year, held by Reverend Driver, presiding elder of the district, resulted in 83 baptisms. The total membership of the church numbered 240 members.[27] At school, children were given Bibles and set to memorizing verses.

One man recalls such a meeting presided over by Joseph Emery:

> There was a full house, nothing but Indians. . . . They called us to the front bench—those who can sing sit there. One of the Indian interpreters told us to go there. We both went up front. . . . The service lasted about one hour. The preacher [Emery] prayed first. He prayed to God same thing over and over. "Let these Indians learn and learn to pray to Thee. More and more have them change from old ways to the English ways. Not help them only, but help their children to grow in grace.

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> Make them better men and women." He was a Methodist preacher and was a big man. He had a loud voice and was a good singer. He was awfully strict. He didn't want the Indians to get into trouble. He said, "If you don't mind me, I will put you in jail or put a ball and chain on you." And he did. So the Indians behaved well, you know. I understood what he said, and it sounded good to me and after they interpreted his sermon in Klamath, the old Indians liked it too. Testimonies were then given. . . . The preacher read from the scriptures and made sermon. . . . He said, "I want people to come together and work together as one."[3]

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The emergence of native preachers provides another illustration of the confrontation of native and American roles. From the Indian viewpoint, the role of shaman did not coincide with that of the American preacher, for in aboriginal times the shaman's duties had encompassed curative powers, and through sorcery and counter-sorcery he had come to wield quasipolitical influence as well. Now healing lay within the duties of the Agency physician, while political sway had passed progressively, first to the raid-and-trade leaders and latterly to the Agency chiefs.

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On the other hand, points of resemblance existed between the traditional role of the chief and that of the preacher. The sermon, the most distinctive and formal exercise of the minister, as the Indian saw him, corresponded most closely with the exhortations to a better life given by chiefs to followers and by elders to the young. The correspondence of preaching with political authority was furthered by the circumstance that a number of Agents had assumed the responsibility of preaching to the Indians. Among those realizing the linkage in their actions were Dave Hill and, to a lesser extent, Lileks, Allen David, and Henry Blow. Jesse Kirk, soon to become a preacher, later applied that office to political ends.

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In the Klamath view of the supernatural order, syncretism set in early, probably as the result of an Indian effort to reconcile native and Christian belief. The trickster-transformer figure of Gmukamps, known in myth by the epithets, "Earth-Maker" and "The One Above," became identified by some with God, although his trickster exploits led others to reject this. Within the first decade of reservation life, Christian dualism, seizing upon the first correspondence, became responsible for the coining of

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history. Beatty, in the upper valley of the Sprague, lies between the town of Sprague River, some fourteen miles below it, and Bly, roughly the same distance away over the eastern boundary of the reservation. It drew some of its population from Yainax, when that subagency was closed, as well as from Paiute Camp to the east. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and store, to which other establishments presently were added, and houses began to be built about them. White ranchers have moved in to work the allotted land they bought or rented, usually bringing their families with them. Others, white, Indian—using that term for non-Klamath—and Negro, have married tribal members.

By 1959, however, when the community was studied,[8] it was in a sharp decline: for in the 1940's the local school had been closed in a consolidation with the one at Bly; the Methodist mission had been reduced to an adjunct of the principal mission on Williamson River, at the Lower End; and the lumber mill at Sprague River had ceased operations. The community had survived, though on a greatly reduced scale, with a population totaling 136 persons, 105 of them tribal members, prevailingly of Modoc and Paiute derivation, 5 Indians from other reservations, 25 whites, and 1 Negro.

Chiloquin, located at the confluence of the Sprague and Williamson rivers, was the largest community on the reservation, with a population then almost seven times that of Beatty.[9] A mill and market town which burgeoned when tribal timber was opened by the advent of the railroad, Chiloquin was incorporated as a city in 1926 and soon afterward boasted a population, including adjacent woods camps, of approximately two thousand. In its heyday, when along with Modoc Point, Braymill, and Sprague River it pulsed with activity, Chiloquin was a lusty and sometimes rowdy city, enjoying the wicked sobriquet of "The Little Chicago of the West." Below the surface was a structure which provided an institutional extension of American civic life elsewhere. A bank, a newspaper, telephone company, hotels and rooming houses, schools and churches, a boxing association and occasional Chatauqua, moving picture house, taxi company, Ladies' Community Club, Commerce Club, Masons and V.F.W., lawyers, dentists, and doctors: all these shared space with dance-halls, card rooms, bootleggers, pimps, and prostitutes.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

177 764 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point, one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 648 652 [797] President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,* and the spiritual interests of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Máklaks, Horatio Hale,† the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont‡ of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Govern-

* Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 330.

† Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

‡ Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences. The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This necessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
Pľá, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Lílo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

[6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ăkemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

Here Christian elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power) have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orientation, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology; but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil, and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult, too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services. The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, n.o. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

795 771 178 [182] reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors, the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some 771 795 are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in 184 the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to [797] those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual [571] or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions to aboriginal concepts.

771 177 184 It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals, while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes [755] [751] demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

183 [773] The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there. For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two, 183 224 reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away, he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too, the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is 825 still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath [191] but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a har- [763] binger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means 183 human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter, the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed among western tribes.

178 But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often recur.

The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, apparently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating, and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word */ɬuw'i·s/* meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality, it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers, the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions. One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me, "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.' I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it." She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up, up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena: "When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

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773 is Mu·natul'kni· ("The One Below"). They say Kemu'kemps is everywhere
776 and that's like God. I think about that sometimes."
177 Undoubtedly, a confusion arises because of the adoption by missionaries,
[197] years ago, of terms for the Christian God which the Klamath had applied to the culture hero. The overlapping of Christian and native concepts is readily seen and provides a basis for debate and doubt.[15] It may be profitable to note some of the views and to determine how variable present attitudes are. There is scarcely any standardization except a very prevalent view that Kemu'kemps is somehow real.

The statements which follow were made by Klamath in response to the general question: What is Kemu'kemps? One man, aged about seventy-four, remarked to Hiroto Zakoji, University of Oregon: "Kemu'kemps disappears when he wants to. He tells what will happen and it happens exactly. He gives power to the Indian doctors [shamans] and sends them their songs. But I heard in stories that Kemu'kemps does bad things; he does tricks. I think he is mean, too. God in the Bible is mean sometimes, too. In the Bible it says that God is a jealous god. That's in the first Genesis [sic] and the Ten Commandments says that, too .... Sometimes I think Kemu'kemps is the Devil himself. There is a place near the dam over near Chiloquin on this side of the river. There is a big rock sticking out over there near a cave. Kemu'kemps tricks people to go there and dance when a girl reaches the age [puberty]. He misleads people. But God sometimes does bad things; he made Adam and Eve, but he also made the apple."

Two older male informants told separately versions of a myth about Kemu'kemps as a trickster. In the tale, the culture hero set what appeared to be venison up on poles. When the people present asked for some, he at once welcomed them to a feast. To their horror, they found that they were eating Kemu'kemps' feces. The hero laughed and disappeared. The remarks of a man, aged sixty-two, are of interest: "Can you imagine him doing a thing like that? I think that's just a disgusting old Indian story. God wouldn't do a thing like that, so Kemu'kemps must be Devil. But God made plagues in Egypt and maybe that's what this was like."

Although some informants conclude that the culture hero is an older revelation of the Christian God, others, as may be seen, are equally convinced that he is allied with or is the Christian Satan. But the ambivalent attitude appears to be most characteristic. H. Zakoji, of the University of Oregon, reports the following statement from a 74-year-old male informant: "I don't know what he is, God or Devil or what he is. According to the Bible, we worship one God. Nobody ever saw God and white people say that. That's what gets me. Kemu'kemps dealt with the Indians only. He must be before Christ came and he must have disappeared when Christ came." In another connection, he said to me: "If Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came, then Christ conquered him. They say when Christ died, he conquered sin and the Devil.

[113] [15] These statements suggest the views of Father Wilhelm Schmidt and their implications as given in his *High Gods of North America* (Oxford, 1933), especially chap. 8.